

THE CRISIS.

Devoted to the Support of the Democratic Principles of Jefferson.

"Union, harmony, self-denial, concession---everything for the Cause, nothing for Men."

No. 39.

RICHMOND, WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 23, 1840.

VOL. I.

TERMS.

Three Cents will be printed in quarto form, on a medium sheet, with new type. The price \$1.50 and no paper will be sent to any person, without payment in advance, postage paid. As nothing short of a very large and effective subscription can justify the continuation of the paper, the above terms will be strictly adhered to. We mean to make no debts at all. We shun all credit in this establishment, and insist upon the Cash System.

CHARLOTTESVILLE CONVENTION.

[Report from the Committee on County Organization, Unanimously adopted on Friday, the 11th Sept.]

The Committee, to whom was entrusted the duty of preparing a Plan for a general county organization, are fully aware of the deep importance of the subject which has been committed to their consideration.—They have bestowed upon it all the care and deliberation, which the limited time that has been allotted to them would permit them to exert. They feel, that the exercise of the elective franchise is one of the highest attributes of a sovereign People, and that its purity should be guarded with all the sleepless vigilance of men who know their rights, and knowing, dare maintain them. The right of suffrage is a right inestimable to freemen. It has been guaranteed to every citizen in the State, who has, in the language of the Bill of Rights, "Sufficient evidence of permanent common interest with and attachment to the Community." It is a right which, when properly protected and guarded, comprehends within itself the power to preserve and maintain every other right.—It is the foundation stone of the Republican edifice.—It is the fountain, from which flow the great blessings of a free country. Shake that corner stone, and the whole building may crumble in ruin upon our heads! Corrupt that fountain, and you poison liberty at its very source.—It is that formidable power, which affords security against tyranny and oppression; which enables the people to hurl from an undesired eminence, all unfaithful servants, who abuse their confidence, and pervert the authority with which they are invested, to promote some unworthy object, or to advance an unholy ambition. It presents the opportunity and the occasion to discountenance profligate politicians, and to reject those officers, whose principles are in conflict with the wishes and the interests of a majority of the people: whilst it enables a liberal, a free and an enlightened people to sustain, encourage and cheer on those faithful servants, who devote their talents, their time, their lives to the service of their country. It bestows those rewards and honors, which, while they distinguish and elevate the individual, endow him with the power of promoting the interest and glory of the nation. What duty, then, is more sacred in the eyes of every patriot, of every party, who has the welfare of his country at heart, than to protect this right in all its purity, and to guard its exercise with the most scrupulous circumspection? It is their duty to see, that every citizen who is authorized by the Constitution and the Laws to exercise it, shall not be denied the privilege; and that those, to whom it has been denied, should not have it illegally extended to them. If this pure fountain indeed be polluted, we may tremble for the Republic.—Corruption will indeed seize upon the vitals of our system; but if an honest, upright, conscientious discharge of our duties as citizens be continually practised, our Government will continue healthy, vigorous and enlightened. It will remain a model for the imitation of the world, and one of the noblest monuments to future ages of the wisdom of the present—a monument, more worthy of reverence than the solid Pyramids of Egypt or the crumbling Coliseum of Rome.

Your committee have thought it proper, therefore, to present in a concise view the qualifications which give the right to vote in this Commonwealth; and the disqualifications which forbid its exercise, that every individual may judge for himself what are his rights and may know how to assert them; and that all may know, when an illegal vote is polled and when a legal one is rejected. They have deemed it their duty to present also the regulations for the reception of votes, and the penalties imposed upon those who vote illegally, and upon those who illegally conduct the election, that every man may be able to watch the vicious, to detect the guilty, and bring down upon his head the punishment which the law prescribes and his offence may justly merit.

Your Committee have carefully extracted from the Constitution and Laws the various provisions touching the subject, and have placed them in such classification as they deem most intelligible, taking care to distinguish each qualification by placing it by itself. First, then—

FREEDHOLDERS UNDER THE OLD CONSTITUTION.

1. Every white male citizen of the State, resident therein, who is twenty-one years old and upwards, being possessed, or whose tenant for years, at will or at sufferance, is possessed of an estate of freehold at the least in twenty-five acres of land, with a house, the superficial content of the foundation whereof is twelve feet square, or equal to that quantity, and a plantation thereon, and (unless the title shall have come to him by descent, devise, marriage, or marriage settlement,) having been so possessed six months, shall have the right to vote in the county in which the land lieth. If such land, being one entire parcel, lie in several counties, the holder shall vote in that county wherein the house standeth only.

2. Every such citizen possessed, or whose tenant for years, at will or at sufferance, is possessed of an estate of freehold in fifty acres of unimproved land, and (unless the title shall have come to him by descent, devise, marriage or marriage settlement) having been so possessed six months, shall have the right to vote in the county in which the land lies. And if the fifty acres, being one entire parcel, lie in several counties, the holder shall vote in that county wherein the greater part of the land lies only.

3. Every such citizen possessed, or whose tenant for years, at will or at sufferance, is possessed of an estate of freehold in a lot or part of a lot of land in a city or town established by act of assembly, with a house thereon, the superficial content of the foundation whereof is twelve feet square, or equal to that quantity, and (unless the title shall have come to him by descent, devise, marriage or marriage settlement,) having been so possessed six months, shall be entitled to vote in the city, town, borough or county in which the lot or part of a lot of land lies.

FREEDHOLDERS UNDER THE AMENDED CONSTITUTION.

4. Every such citizen, being possessed, or whose tenant for years, at will or at sufferance, is possessed of an estate of freehold in land of the value of twenty-five dollars, and so assessed to be, if any assessment thereof be required by law, and (unless the title shall have come to him by descent, devise, marriage, or marriage settlement,) having been so possessed for six months, shall be entitled to vote in the county, city, town or borough wherein such land shall lie—and if the land lies in several counties, and be insufficient to entitle him to vote in each, then he shall vote where the greater part of the land lies.

Tenants in Common, Joint Tenants and Parceners.

5. Every such citizen being possessed, as tenant in common, joint tenant or parcener, of an interest in or share of land, and having an estate of freehold therein, such interest or share being of the value of twenty-five dollars and so assessed to be, if any assessment thereof be required by law, and (unless his title shall have come to him by descent, devise, marriage or marriage settlement) having been so possessed for six months, shall be entitled to vote in the county, city, town or borough in which such land shall lie. If the land lies in several counties, and be insufficient to entitle him to vote in each, then he shall vote where the greater part of the land lies.

In right of land held by parceners, joint tenants or tenants in common, qualified to exercise the right of suffrage, under the Old Constitution and laws, but one vote shall be given by all the holders capable of voting, who may be present, and agree to vote for the same candidate or candidates, unless the quantity of land in case of partition, be sufficient to entitle every holder present to vote separately, or unless some one or more of the holders may lawfully vote in right of another estate or estates, in the same county, in which case the others may vote, if holding solely, they might have voted.

In case of two or more tenants in common, joint tenants or parceners, in possession, reversion or remainder, having an interest in land, the value whereof shall be insufficient to entitle them all to vote, and who not being qualified to exercise the right of suffrage, according to the former Constitution and laws, have had that right conferred upon them by the present Constitution; their vote or votes shall in such case, be given in manner following: If the value of the land be sufficient to entitle them to one vote only, the same shall be given by all the said tenants in common, joint tenants or parceners, capable of voting, who may be present, and agree to vote for the same candidate or candidates.

If the value of the land be sufficient to entitle them to more than one vote, the votes to which they are en-

titled shall be given by all the said tenants in common, joint tenants or parceners, capable of voting, who may be present, and agree as to the candidate or candidates to whom the said votes shall be given. No one of any number of such tenants in common, joint tenants or parceners, shall give more than one vote at the same election; nor shall any greater number of votes be given by such tenants in common, joint tenants or parceners, than the value of the undivided land held by them may entitle them to give, according to the Constitution.

When a vote or votes shall have been given as aforesaid, by such tenants in common, joint tenants or parceners, the whole of the said tenants in common, joint tenants or parceners, not having been present, and not having agreed to the said vote or votes, if he or they, who were absent at the giving of the said vote or votes, should afterwards appear at the said election, before the taking of the votes is at an end, and to the officer conducting the said election, object to the said votes as given, the same shall be stricken from the poll.

When an election shall be held at different places, in the same county, and such tenants in common, joint tenants or parceners entitled to only one vote, shall be polled at different places, and for different candidates, their votes shall be stricken from the polls.

When an election shall be held at different places in the same county, and such tenants in common, joint tenants or parceners, entitled to give more votes than one, shall give their votes at different places and in opposition to each other, the said votes shall be stricken from the polls, if it shall appear that all the said tenants in common, joint tenants or parceners, did not agree, before such votes were polled, to whom they should be given.

In case of two or more of such tenants in common, joint tenants or parceners in possession, reversion or remainder, having interest in land, the value whereof shall be insufficient to entitle them all to vote, if some one or more of them may lawfully vote in right of another estate or estates in the same county, the others may vote in the same manner as if he or they holding such other estate in the same county, had no interest whatever in the undivided land belonging to the said tenants in common, joint tenants or parceners.

Reversioners or Remaindermen.

6. Every such citizen being entitled to a reversion or vested remainder in fee, expectant on an estate for life or lives, in land of the value of fifty dollars, and so assessed to be, if any assessment thereof be required by law; and, (unless his title shall have come to him by descent, devise, marriage or marriage settlement,) having been so entitled for six months shall be entitled to vote in the county, city, town or borough, in which such land shall lie. If the land lies in several counties and be insufficient to entitle him to vote in each, then he shall vote where the greater part of the land lies.

Leaseholders.

7. Every such citizen who shall own and be himself in actual occupation of a leasehold estate, with the evidence of title recorded two months before he shall offer to vote, of a term originally not less than five years, of the annual value or rent of twenty dollars, shall be entitled to vote in the county, city, town or borough in which the land shall lie. If the land lie in several counties and be insufficient to entitle him to vote in each, then he shall vote where the greater part of the land lies.

House-keepers, Heads of Families and Tax-payers.

8. Every such citizen, who for twelve months next preceding has been a house-keeper and head of a family within the county, city, town, borough or election district where he may offer to vote, and shall have been assessed with a part of the revenue of the Commonwealth within the preceding year, and actually paid the same, shall be entitled to vote in the county, city, town or borough wherein such house-keeper and head of a family lives.

Voters in Williamsburg and Norfolk Borough.

9. Every such citizen, having such a freehold in the city of Williamsburg or Borough of Norfolk, as will qualify him to vote for delegates to represent the county; and every such citizen, who shall be a house-keeper, and shall have resided for six months in the said city or borough, and shall be possessed of a visible estate of the value of one hundred and sixty-six dollars and sixty-six cents at least, or shall actually have served as an apprentice to some trade within the said city or borough for the term of five years, and shall have obtained a certificate of such service from the Court of Hustings, under the

common seal of the city or borough, shall be qualified to vote in the said city or borough respectively.

There is one important provision of the law, to which your committee would here invite attention, as it materially affects the rights of that class of voters who vote as *house-keepers, heads of families and tax-payers*.

It is provided, that when any person shall have paid to the sheriff, or his deputy, any money on account of any sum due from him for *revenue tax* and for *county levy*, without specifying for which it shall have been paid, it shall be the duty of the sheriff, or his deputy, to credit such person for said money, or so much thereof as may be necessary for the purpose, as paid for his *revenue tax*, before he shall credit him for any part thereof as paid for his county levy. This provision was intended to enable those who had thus paid money to have it applied to the liquidation of their taxes, and thereby extend to them the privilege of voting, if they possessed the other requisites of the law, and was designed to deprive the sheriffs of the power which in some cases they had exerted, of disfranchising voters, by crediting the individual with the payment made as a payment of the county levy, and returning him delinquent for his revenue tax.

Disqualifications.

Your Committee having set forth the various qualifications, now proceed to show the *disqualifications*, which forbid the exercise of the right of suffrage. They are few and simple.—The Constitution and laws both provide, that the right of suffrage shall not be exercised by any person of *unsound mind*, or who shall be a *pauper*, or a *non-commissioned officer, soldier, seaman or marine*, in the service of the United States, or by any person convicted of any infamous offence. And the law makes a further provision, that it shall not be exercised by such as have refused to give assurance of fidelity to the Commonwealth.

These several provisions, your committee believe, embrace all the qualifications and disqualifications provided by the Constitution and laws upon the subject of the right of suffrage.

Your committee will now enquire, what are the provisions regulating the manner of voting for Electors of President and Vice President of the U. S.

The law provides, that every voter shall vote for twenty-three electors, one from each of the electoral districts. It is made the duty of the Commissioners who conduct the election to receive of each person, whom they shall adjudge to be entitled to vote in his county or corporation, a paper containing the name of twenty-three persons, for whom such person shall vote as electors; on the back of the paper shall be written the name of the person voting, which person, however, before his vote shall be polled, shall also declare *viva voce* for whom it is that he votes as electors: which he may be allowed to do, either by repeating the name of each of the twenty-three individuals voted for, or by any other intelligible designation of them collectively; and as the votes are given, it shall be the duty of the said Commissioners to take an exact poll of the names of all persons so voting under the names of the persons voted for. And the right is given to any person entitled to vote in a county wherein separate polls are authorized, to vote at either place of election in the county he may prefer.

The next and last question your Committee deem it important to investigate, is, what provisions have been made, to prevent improper voting.

It is made the duty of the officer conducting the election, to refuse to enter on the poll, the vote of any person who may offer to vote, unless he believes such person to be qualified to vote, or unless such person shall take an oath, (which the officer is authorized to administer,) or shall make affirmation that he believes himself to be duly qualified to vote.—Of which oath or affirmation, a note shall be made in the poll book, opposite, referring to the name of the person swearing or affirming, and the making such oath or affirmation, falsely, shall be perjury.

The names of electors offering to be polled, but refusing to make such oath or affirmation, shall be entered in the poll books in separate lists, with the names of the candidates for whom they voted, and shall be added to the poll, if upon scrutiny, the votes be justified.

It is provided, that no elector shall vote more than once in the same election; nor shall he be admitted to poll a second time at one and the same election, although at the first time he shall not have voted for as many candidates as by law he might have voted for; and if any person shall vote a second time, or shall claim and exercise the right of suffrage in consequence of having paid a part of the revenue of the Commonwealth with which he may have been by his own procurement falsely assessed: each and every such person shall, for his offence, forfeit and pay to the Commonwealth for the benefit of the Literary Fund, the sum of thirty-three dollars and thirty-three cents, recoverable by motion in the Superior or Inferior Court of Law held for the county, city, town or borough, in which the offence is committed, in the name and on behalf the President and Directors of the Literary Fund.

It is further provided, that if it shall appear to the Commissioners appointed by the Governor, in any county, in which any other place or places than the Court-house thereof shall have been designated by law for holding a separate poll or polls, after receiving the returns from the Commissioners who superintended any precinct election, that any individual has voted more than once in the election, it shall be their duty to reduce the vote of such elector to one.

And if upon examining the polls, it shall be discovered that any person hath voted twice in the same election, either by voting twice at the Court-house, or by voting twice at the place of holding any separate election, or by voting once at each place, or in any other manner, it shall be the duty of the officer to return such person to the next Grand Jury that shall sit in his county, for the Inferior or Superior Court thereof, in order that such person may be fined, according to law. And if any officer shall fail in this duty, he shall forfeit and pay to the Commonwealth, for the benefit of the Literary Fund, \$100.

There is but one other provision which your committee will bring to your notice, as important in preserving this invaluable right in its purity. It is, that if any officer conducting an election shall directly or indirectly so interfere in the election as to shew partiality for any of the candidates, he shall forfeit and pay the sum of six hundred and sixty-six dollars and sixty-six cents, to be recovered by bill, plaint or information in any court of record, one moiety to the use of the informer, and the other to the use of the Commonwealth, for the benefit of the Literary Fund.

Your committee would also remark, that there have been numerous decisions by the Legislature, upon particular cases, presented to their consideration, in contested elections, many of which might be important, to shew the construction which has been given by the General Assembly to cases arising under the Constitution and laws, but they are too numerous to be embodied into a report of this character; and it is believed that few general principles have been established, each case having been usually decided upon its own merits, upon the particular facts presented and the evidence by which they are supported—and a slight variation in these facts, or the circumstances of the case, not unfrequently produces entirely opposite decisions apparently upon the same general principle.

Your committee do not hesitate to express it as the solemn sense of this Convention, that these laws ought to be faithfully carried out, and the pending contest should be fairly decided, by the majority of the People. They would disdain to achieve a temporary party triumph, by prostituting the great principles of the Republic, and the lofty character of this good Old Commonwealth.—The party which would stain the glory of Virginia by gross abuses and outrageous frauds; by the seductions of corruption and the violation of the law, would deserve the execration of every honest Virginian. We do not wish to run the race of some of the other States. We abhor the infamous attempt which was made by the Whigs of Pennsylvania to usurp the authority of the Legislature of their State, by trampling under foot the majority of the People. We deprecate the daring attempt to set aside the voice of the People in New Jersey, and to palm upon the Congress of the U. S., under the cover of the broad seal of her Governor, the Representatives of the minority of the People. The recent elections which have taken place have furnished additional reasons to suspect, that amid the whirlwind of these times, in the phrensy of party spirit, in the reckless determination to effect their objects, by unworthy means, the sanctuary of Liberty itself has been desecrated by the frauds of the Whigs, in some of the other States. The vote of Indiana has transcended all previous calculation. It has increased from 83 to 117,000—and there is too much reason to fear, that thousands of voters have been introduced from the contiguous States to colonize several of her counties. The same dark suspicion rests upon the votes of Louisville and Mobile—and it has been confidently asserted, that more votes have been given, than were recorded on the registers of their votes. And even North Carolina herself has not escaped the imputation of fraud.

Your committee will cast no such reflection upon the Whigs of Virginia, without the plainest and most painful evidence of their correctness. But they conceive it to be the duty of both Parties to watch the first symptoms of its appearance, to prevent all frauds, and to punish all offenders. It is the wish of this committee, and they undertake to say of this Convention, to see the right of every voter respected and to prevent every violation of the law. All that we ask is fairness and justice. Let it be the principle of every Democrat, not to vote unless the right is plainly given him by the law and the constitution; and if it has been granted, fearlessly to demand it, and to let nothing deter him from exercising his privilege. It should be the duty of every man, of every party, to see that none shall vote who are not entitled to suffrage—and that every man who is so entitled shall be allowed a fair opportunity to express his opinion openly and independently, like a free citizen of this great country.

The Committee beg leave to repeat, that they have no doubt of carrying the vote of Virginia triumphantly in favor of Mr. Van Buren, if the voters can be induced to attend the polls, and if all bad voters are duly excluded. But the very character of the election, in which we are engaged, demands peculiar precautions to be made for such an unexampled contest. It is the only election in our own State, in which the issue is to be decided by a General Ticket. This is so essentially different from the other elections, in which the success depends on the majority of voters, in a single county or in a single district, that there is some reason to fear several of the voters will not turn out to the polls in those counties, where the majority is known to be decidedly in favor of one party or the other. But it is obvious upon the slightest reflection, that every vote is equally effective in those sections, as well as in others. A voter is of as much importance in the most decided as in the most doubtful counties.—Whether he live on the sea shore or on the banks of the Ohio—in Accomack or in Kanawha—in the small county of Warwick or in the immense region of Monongalia—in the glorious Tenth Legion of the Republic, or in the Federal county of Loudoun, the suffrage of each voter is of equal weight in the scale of this contest.

But, as there may be some citizens, who may have been misled into a different impression, it becomes important to remove their error and to summon them to the polls. There are other voters besides, who may forget the day of the Election—others, who may require to be roused, by personal appeals, to attend the polls:—and some who may stand in need of conveyances to bring them to the Election ground. On all these accounts, it is of great importance to have committees appointed in every section of every county and city, whose duty it shall be to warn in our Republican friends, and to rouse them up to a punctual attendance at the polls:

Resolved, therefore, That the Corresponding Committees of every county should forthwith appoint Sub-Committees for each division of their respective counties, whose duty it shall be to obtain a register of such voters, as we may look to for assistance at the election; to wait upon all of them at their houses, and notify them of the day and place, and manner of the Election; to appeal to their patriotism; and when the day of Election comes, to furnish every facility which their years or infirmities may require, to bring them to the ground. The Corresponding Committee of each county is to divide these duties among their Sub-committees, in the most judicious way—to appoint no man upon this important duty, who is not calculated by the energies of his character, to perform it in the most effectual manner—to see that he accepts the office which is confided to him, and to see from time to time, that this whole organization be thoroughly carried out.

But as it is extremely desirable, not only that all our own good votes should be brought to the polls, but every bad or doubtful vote of the Opposition should be excluded—as this too is an Election in which, from the animated character of the contest, more suspicious votes will probably be tendered, than have ever been called forth at any preceding period—and as unfortunately no adequate means have been provided, either by the State or Federal Governments, to purge the polls, and to ascertain the fair and legitimate majority of the People of the State—and as it moreover may happen, although we have every reason to calculate upon a decided majority for Mr. Van Buren, that the question may by possibility be brought to a very close issue—and the very nature and high importance of the contest may be productive of an extraordinary excitement, threatening even the tranquillity of the country, where the majority depends upon spurious or even suspicious votes, we conceive it to be the solemn duty of the Republican party to provide against the admission of all such votes. It must be recollected too, that where so much depends upon the Commissioners of the Election, they should not be unwilling to profit by the suggestions of their fellow-citizens. So far from weakening any authority which legitimately belongs to them, does it not rather serve to assist them in the execution of their duties in the most effectual manner? Nor can it fail to be recollected, that as a majority of the Commissioners recently appointed by the Governor of Virginia, have been selected from the Whig party; as even in several of those counties where the Republicans carried their Delegates last Spring, the Governor has been induced by the want of information, or by the impulse of his friends, or by his own partialities, to forget his own rule, and appoint two Whig or Conservative Commissioners, to superintend the Election; does it not become peculiarly incumbent on our Republican friends to watch the progress of the Election: calmly and respectfully to submit their objections, and even their doubts; and in fact assist the Commissioners in doing equal and exact justice to both the parties? We wish for no advantage.—We spurn a victory, which is to be won even by the remissness of our opponents; and we invite them in the spirit of frankness to co-operate with us in scrutinizing every vote, in suggesting every objection

that may be urged to the qualification of the voter, and to remove every possible source of complaint, and of excitement. We earnestly invite them to co-operate with us in preventing all frauds on the day of the Election:

Resolved, therefore, That it be earnestly recommended to the Corresponding Committee of each county to appoint a Sub-Committee, charged with the duty of attending each Election precinct on the day of the Presidential Election, in order that they may challenge every bad or suspicious vote. And it is moreover recommended to them, to place three or more Republicans upon each Sub-Committee, who are distinguished for their energy, intelligence and experience, whose duty it shall be to study the Commissioners' books, for the purpose of ascertaining the legitimate votes in the county, and to obtain a register of her Republican votes; to attend the polls during the whole period of the Election, and to challenge every vote which may be considered suspicious, and to support every Republican vote which appears to them to be conformable to the Law and the Constitution.

These challengers should be capable and vigilant men. They should exert every energy to preserve the purity of the right of suffrage. They should zealously attempt to prevent all double voting—all tricks upon the tickets.—In the towns and in neighboring counties, the Challengers should keep a list of their own, as a check upon double voting. These lists might be interchanged, in the course of the day, to prevent the same individual from voting at different points.—Some benefit may be expected from public and decided announcements, that frauds will be prevented at all hazards, and the offenders prosecuted.—The Committees of Vigilance should stand pledged to themselves and to their country, to enforce the utmost penalty of the law, as soon as possible after the termination of the Election. Your Committee have no hesitation in saying, that the announcement of such an intention, accompanied by the adoption of such measures as may prove its sincerity, would of itself be calculated to prevent the perpetration of many a fraud.

The committee ask leave to be discharged from recommending any mode of procuring the instructions of the People, on the Senatorial Election, as those representatives who not respect the vote of their counties in the Presidential contest, would not feel themselves bound by any other authoritative expression of the popular will.

Your Committee would not consider our System of County Organization to be complete, if they did not earnestly press upon the County Corresponding Committees, to spare no efforts to effect the establishment of Democratic Associations, in every county. We wish not only to counteract the effects of the Tippecanoe Clubs, but to inspire an additional interest among the great body of our Republican Fellow-Citizens. We wish them to take a greater personal part in the discussions of the day—to enlighten their minds upon the great principles of the Constitution, as well as the respective qualifications of the two Candidates.—We wish to rouse up the slumbering genius of the Orator—to inspire a deeper Democratic feeling, a higher pride, a nicer sympathy with the political sentiments of each other, to breathe a greater confidence in each other and in themselves. These Democratic Associations might apply to greater advantage the Documents, which are distributed from this Convention, or cause to be printed or procured other publications. The Corresponding Committee should send agents or personally visit the proper sections of their counties, for the purpose of forming these Associations—and when once begun, the Association should bestir themselves to extend the number of their associates, without binding up the conscience by signatures or pledges to vote for a particular candidate, as has been practised in some parts of the State by the infuriated partisans of the Whig candidate. These pledges strip the freeman of his privilege of judging for himself, till the very moment of the Election. No freeman should give any such pledge, and none but a desperate politician would exact it.

We would recommend to our committees, to make arrangements for furnishing every county and every populous portion of each county with public speakers, at least twice before the coming election.

We advise them to communicate freely and frequently with the Central Committee of Richmond—and to inform them of every gross device of the Whigs, and of every humbug, as soon as it takes wing.

And finally, in the name of our country, and of our cause; by those great State Rights' principles which have hitherto constituted the glory as well as the safety of Virginia—we call upon all our Committees to do their duty to themselves, to us, to the People of the Old Dominion, and to future ages.

A Sign!—The N. Y. Evening Post and Times, two Harrison papers, have consolidated. This is, as Gov. Barbour would say, "ominous of a d—d bad sign." Simultaneous with this sign, the "Standard," a talented Democratic paper, makes its appearance in the city.

*ADDRESS to the People of Virginia,
(Unanimously adopted by the Convention, September
11th, 1840.)*

Fellow-Citizens:—We address you on no common occasion. A contest is drawing to a close which yields in importance to none that has agitated our country since the origin of our government. This is the last time you will hear our united voice before its eventual termination. Permit us then to appeal to your reason and patriotism, once more, in the words of soberness and truth. We shall not attempt to inflame your passions or exasperate your prejudices. Did we not rely upon the justice of our cause, we have yet too much respect for our institutions and for yourselves to wish for success by means so perilous and of such doubtful morality. We have witnessed, with no apprehension for ourselves, but much for the tranquillity and happiness of these free and flourishing States, the inflammatory appeals and menacing declarations of our adversaries. The hints of physical resistance; the threats of revolution; the vindictive cries which have been echoed by sinister acclamations, have filled our breasts with a sorrow too deep, have shadowed our minds with a forecast too melancholy, not to deter us from language and expedients hostile to the harmony of society, destructive of the charm of life, and ominous for those free institutions, which can only co-exist with moderation, a manly self-restraint, habitual reverence for the sanctity of law, a just regard for the independence of opinion.

Would that those high in station and character, who have exhibited an example so much to be deprecated, might be convinced that no good, which even in their opinion is to be effected by a change of men and measures, can in the smallest degree compensate for the deep and enduring evils inflicted by a recourse to such dangerous and discreditable means. In the midst of our heated controversies and fleeting divisions, we should recollect, that we are children of one common country, bound together by no ordinary ties; and that we are depositaries of a sacred trust, which it is above all, our duty to God and man to transmit unimpaired to posterity. "Let us then, fellow-citizens," in the benignant language of the statesman and the patriot, "unite with one heart and mind; let us restore to social intercourse that harmony and affection, without which liberty and life itself are but dreary things. And let us reflect, that having banished from our land that religious intolerance, under which mankind so long bled and suffered, we have yet gained little, if we countenance a political intolerance as despotic as wicked, and capable of as bitter and bloody persecutions."

We have said, that since the origin of our Government, the country has never been agitated by a more eventful contest. It is not a mere combat of party; one of those ordinary conflicts between the competitors and incumbents of office, which in a popular Government must be of frequent recurrence. It is a controversy which involves vital doctrines, great questions, consequences momentous and lasting. That error is fatal, which supposes that the conflict between the good and evil principles of society, is settled by the establishment of a free Constitution or the adoption of a rational frame of Government. The warning voice of history teaches us, that the forms of freedom may long survive its substance—and the maxim is not more trite than true, that "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty."

Our own brief annals furnish us with striking illustrations of these solemn truths. Through much forbearance, sacrifice and mutual compromise, our forefathers, who had learned the value of freedom at the cost of their blood, and whose patriotism had been purified and strengthened by the fire of persecution, succeeded in framing a Constitution, which blends in harmonious union, the essential elements of liberty and order. It is known, that in the Convention which accomplished this great and good work, there were some hostile to popular institutions, and, more, who sincerely doubted their efficacy or durability. Fortunately for us, and for those who are to come after us, they who had faith in the right and advantage of self-government prevailed, and the result has proved, that their hopes were not vain, nor their confidence misapplied—as more than half a century has now elapsed since the finishing stone was placed upon that noble and protecting edifice. Under the fostering guide, and inciting impulse of free principles, we have rapidly grown up to be a great people, and have made ourselves felt as a power of the first class amongst the nations of the earth. History furnishes not the most remote parallel of a progress so marvellous and a prosperity so pervading. It is as it were, but yesterday, and when these United States verified the prophecy, "A nation shall be born in a day." And what do we already behold? Magnificent cities stud the immense line of our coast, and even crown the banks of our remotest rivers. Immense regions, which were waste and wilderness when we started in the career of nations, have been transformed into flourishing States. The majestic streams which penetrate our wide-spread territory, like the veins and arteries that convey the

life-blood through the human frame, groan under the burdens of industry and agriculture, while our ships expand their sails to every breeze which stirs the bosom of the ocean. And what is better still, civilization has made an equal progress. The school-master is abroad in the land, and religion lifts her soothing or warning voice on every side. All these blessings, fellow-citizens, which make us indeed a peculiar people, we owe to the establishment of a well-ordered commonwealth; we owe them to those, who, in spite of the fears of the timid, and the objections of the hostile, infused largely into our institutions the vivifying spirit of freedom.—We need not ask, if the same happy and ennobling result would have been witnessed, had their adversaries triumphed.

But those who were defeated or disappointed in the Convention, which formed our wise and free Constitution, did not renounce their principles or their designs. They sought to effect covertly and indirectly, that which, when openly proposed, had been rejected.—They endeavored to strain the Constitution from its literal expression and obvious meaning, to accomplish their original purposes. They strove to assimilate it substantially and in practice, to the foreign model, which they admired, in spite, nay, some of them, on account of its abuses and corruptions. Already under the Administration of Washington, the eloquence and sophistry of Hamilton, in defiance of the remonstrances of the leaders of the Republican party, committed violence upon the Constitution, by the establishment of a Bank of the U. S., the creature and instrument of a vicious funding system, and the prolific source of the kindred evils which have followed in its train. This was done, too, when the recollection was fresh, that the power to create corporations, had, in the Convention, been proposed to be given to the Federal Government, but rejected, for the very reason, among others, that it might lead to the establishment of a Bank. What a lesson of vigilance does it not read to us, when we reflect, that this act of usurpation was committed or sanctioned by men, the integrity of many of whom it were temerity to question.

When once this inroad was made upon the Constitution, the accumulation of consequential evils was rapid. Among these, in the succeeding administration, an expensive and oppressive Standing Army, an Alien and Sedition Law, which invested the President with powers unconstitutional and tyrannical, stand unenviably conspicuous. But a young people, who were so near the source of their liberties, and whose minds were yet imbued with the heroism of their Revolutionary struggle, were not easily corrupted or subdued. They opposed a manly resistance to these usurpations, which, if it did not at once check, soon hurled the offenders from the high places of power. The helm was then grasped by the vigorous hand of a Republican statesman, and the vessel guided in the course laid down by the Constitution. To this fortunate change and patriotic reform Virginia chiefly contributed; and the famous Report and Resolutions of her Legislature, which the occasion called forth, are still appealed to as the best commentary upon the Constitution and the ablest defence of our reserved rights.

But the Federal party, though vanquished, was not extinct. Its voice was heard in angry, yet vain murmurs, against the principles and policy of Mr. Jefferson, then, as now, stigmatized as hostile to order, property, morals and religion. That great Statesman had predicted, after his election to the Presidency, that "The Federalists would never attempt again to get into power under their own proper name."—After retiring from the Presidential chair, he boldly portrayed their prominent features in the following terms: "The Federal party looks to a single and splendid Government of an Aristocracy, founded on banking institutions and monied corporations, under the guise and cloak of their favored branches of manufactures, commerce and navigation, riding and ruling over the plundered ploughman and beggared yeomanry."—It was not, however, until the country was involved in a war with England, that it ventured to lift up its head and prepare for a new struggle. Taking advantage of the danger and dismay of such a crisis, it organized a desperate opposition against the constituted authorities of the country. Yes, fellow-citizens, when every generous heart glowed with patriotic devotion, and every true arm was bared for the conflict, there were those within our own bosom, who taunted our weakness, gloried in our defeats, mocked at our calamities, withheld all sympathy and support from our gallant and suffering defenders, and even meditated disunion, while a powerful enemy "was ravaging our borders, and giving our capitol to the flames!"—Among those who plotted the deadly designs of the Hartford Convention, there is not one living, who is not now opposed to the present Administration. Among those who opposed the war, who denied men and means to carry it on, who were most active in counteracting the Administration of James Madison, is found the great leader of the Whig party—he, who is now proposing an unnatural alliance between the Federalists of Massachusetts and the Republicans of Virginia, and who, if there be any truth in the signs of

the times, is contemplated to be the leader of a new Dynasty. These men, however, failed in 1815, as they probably will fail in 1840. The triumphant conclusion of the war was a fatal blow to the party by which it had been opposed, and opposed too by such culpable means and for such criminal purposes. It retired from the contest in shame and confusion.

But the conflict with the colossal power of Great Britain had entailed great evils upon the country.—The confusion of its finances, and the difficulties of the times, in an evil hour, induced the party in power again to charter a National Bank. Even Mr. Madison, the purest of men, and the most enlightened of statesmen, was led to sanction an institution, of which he had been the consistent, and perhaps ablest opponent. This was a fatal error. It was an adoption of the master heresy of Federalism, whose partisans hailing the new dawn, emerged from their political caves and hiding-places, and, throwing aside their distinctive name, condescended with the ruling party. The evil consequences of this false step were once more exhibited. The old landmarks of Republicanism began to disappear; the loose doctrines of construction and implication were revived, and received but too general an assent. Appropriations were lavished upon objects not authorized by the Constitution; an unjust Tariff for Protection, was established, and from time to time augmented, until it reached so oppressive a height, as almost to drive the South to the brink of a civil war. During the Presidency of the second Adams, these evils reached an intolerable head, when fortunately, a retributive re-action commenced, and signaled itself by his rejection from the exalted station to which he had never been elevated by a majority of the people. As the usurpations of the elder Adams had been arrested by the civil Revolution of 1800, and by the election of Thomas Jefferson, so the mal-administration of the younger Adams was terminated by the election of the iron-nerved Andrew Jackson. Then commenced a long, and at times, a doubtful war, against these various usurpations, the system of unconstitutional improvements, the mis-called American System, and, finally, that patron or creature of every abuse, the Bank of the U. S., which strove, but in vain, for a re-charter, by every species of corruption and intimidation.

The heroic chieftain, who had to contend with enemies more formidable than those whom he had conquered in the field, was succeeded by the genuine and tried Republican, who now grasps the helm of State with a mild but steady hand. It has been his fate to bear the combined shock of these accumulated evils, or rather of their formidable consequences. The very commencement of his administration was embarrassed by difficulties the most complicated, and assailed by dangers the most appalling. The entire commercial system of the country was suddenly prostrated, and doubt and dismay paralyzed for a time the energies of a great nation. The State Banks, which, in default of a better order of things, and before the country was prepared for a radical reform, had become the depositaries of the national income, universally suspended, and thus legally disqualified themselves for performing the trust which had been reposed in them. The catastrophe was as perplexing, as it was pervading. After anxious reflection and mature deliberation, the President deemed that the occasion had arisen to return to the system contemplated, and, indeed, established by the founders of the Government, by withdrawing from all connection with institutions not recognized by the Constitution, and which Congress could neither create nor control. He saw the imminent hazard to which such a proposition would expose his popularity; for, the enmity of eight or nine hundred banks, with all their officers, stockholders and dependents, was more to be dreaded than the hostility of one institution, however great. Yet he did not shrink from the responsibility imposed upon him by duty and circumstances.

The measure encountered the sincere doubts of some, the factious hostility of others, and the hypocritical objections of those who but sought an opportunity to unite with an opposition which was every day growing more formidable to the Administration. The event proved, that the President had not exaggerated the difficulties which environed the path of duty. Whole commonwealths, following the example of his native State, withdrew their approbation and support, and he found himself for a time in a most discouraging minority.—These are trials to test the character of a public man, and the principles by which he is governed. Mr. Van Buren was true to himself and to his cause.—Sustained by a clear conviction of right and a stern sense of duty, he adhered calmly but firmly to the dictates of his conscience and reason, at the same time declaring his willingness to co-operate with Congress in any constitutional system which it might devise. That body, several times by small majorities in one branch, declined to adopt the proposed reform, yet offered no substitute.—The President, therefore, thought himself justified in persevering in his original recommendation. Soon the banks which had resumed, suspended in great number a second time, and it now became obvious to every candid mind that the connection which had subsisted be-

tween these corporations and the Government could not be with prudence renewed. Apprehensions were quieted, prejudices removed, objections disappeared, the public mind gradually righted itself, until a free and unbiassed majority of Congress, fresh from the people, adopted the Independent Treasury.

We will not say, that this much controverted system may not have defects, like every thing of human contrivance or execution, that it has not points to be guarded and tendencies to be watched or checked. But it is free from Constitutional objections. Even those who opposed it, must admit, that it has become necessary, under the circumstances of the country, and we trust, that, if wisely administered, it will exercise a salutary influence upon enlightened and judicious enterprise, and prevent the recurrence of the manifold evils to which the opposite system has given birth.—Although established chiefly, if not solely with a view to the financial advantage and purity of the government, we would fain persuade ourselves, that its incidental effect will be to curb mildly, yet effectively, that reckless spirit of adventure which has tempted our people into such perilous straits, and that it will do so, by sustaining and enlarging the metallic basis of our fluctuating currency, maintaining a prosperous steadiness of prices and wages, checking in time the excessive ingress of foreign productions, and serving as ballast to the buoyant bark of credit, which may hereafter unfurl its sails to every breeze, with greater confidence and security. Notwithstanding the many evils, which it was predicted would immediately follow its adoption, confidence has begun to return, prices risen, and business become more animated; and we have good reason to hope, (thanks to abundant crops, and the irrepressible energies of a great people!) that we have already passed through the darkest hour, and that the light which is beginning to break is the dawn of a brighter and longer day of prosperity.

To show the fallacy of the objection that the Independent Treasury will depress the rewards of labour, we need but mention the fact, that there are countries with an exclusively metallic currency—which it is not the object nor the effect of this bill to establish—where wages are higher than they have ever been here; and paper money countries, Ireland for example, are proverbial for the poverty and destitution of the working classes. In fact, the rate of wages depends much more on demand and supply, than upon the character of the circulating medium. They are the last to rise with the expansion, and the first to fall with the contraction of the currency, while their nominal increase is delusive, when the prices of the comforts and necessities of life increase in equal or greater proportion.

The great questions which have agitated the public mind during the late and present Administrations, have revived the contending principles and questions which divided parties at the origin of the Government. As they were arrayed then, they are marshalled now; and the old war is renewed between the friends of an equal and well-regulated liberty, and the partisans of privilege and monopoly. We shall briefly recapitulate the principles maintained and proudly avowed by the Republican party of Virginia.

We believe, that the Constitution is a compact between the States, and that the Federal Government is invested with those powers only which are given to it in express terms. We believe, that public morality is as binding as private integrity, and that the terms of the Constitution should be held as sacred as the ward of honor. Such a rule is our only defence against those insidious encroachments, which are more to be dreaded than avowed hostilities. We believe, that no money should be levied from the people, which is not required for the legitimate purposes of revenue, and that the amount thus raised should be as moderate as is consistent with an enlightened economy. We are utterly opposed to the whole progeny of Federal encroachments, among which, the objects of our peculiar aversion, because we have seen and felt their evil tendencies, are, a National Bank, extravagant schemes of Internal Improvement by the General Government, and an oppressive Tariff for protection. We are averse to a National Bank, first and foremost, because such an institution finds no warrant in the Constitution, and, because it is not only unnecessary, but both reason and experience prove it to be dangerous and corrupting. We want no colossal moneyed institution established, in violation of the Constitution, to monopolize the revenue, centralize the capital, and control at pleasure the business and prosperity of our wide and diversified country. We are opposed to the system of Internal Improvement by the General Government, because it is not sanctioned by the Constitution, an insuperable objection, and because we believe that such works can be constructed with more economy and advantage by the States themselves. We wish, moreover, to see the sovereign States of this Union independent of the humiliating bounty of the Federal Government, which can, besides, supply no money for such, or any other purpose, which is not derived from the people, and would be more wisely and fairly expended by their local authorities. We are op-

posed to a Tariff for protection, because the collection of revenue, for such an object, is not provided for by the Constitution, and, moreover, because such a system is unjust, partial, oppressive, and peculiarly fatal to the planting States; which, under its withering influence, saw their resources gradually decay, their prosperity languish, and desolation spread over their flourishing towns and fertile fields. We are, in a word, in favor of a strict construction of the Constitution, a mild and economical government, and equal laws, which may equalize the burthens as well as the blessings of Government, and under whose genial sway, peace, order, liberty, morality and religion, may flourish and endure. This, fellow-citizens, is our simple creed, as we devoutly believe, it was that of the fathers of the Republican church.

Upon all these great principles and questions, we are satisfied, that the present incumbent of the Executive Chair fairly represents the opinions and wishes of Republican Virginia; infinitely more so, even our adversaries must admit, than the candidate they have presented for the popular suffrages. From his youth upwards, Mr. Van Buren has been unwavering in his devotion to the cause of the people. He is emphatically the "child and champion" of Democracy. The unapaisable hostility of the enemies of Democratic principles, is the best guarantee of his devotion to popular rights. He is himself a striking example of the liberal character of our institutions, which open a career to the honorable ambition of every citizen. He has risen by merit alone, to the highest office in the gift of a free people, which he not only fills with distinction, but adorns by his personal qualities.—Of clear intellect, firm resolution, provident sagacity, admirable temper, and amiable deportment, and unspotted reputation, he is the model of a Republican Statesman. We first hear of him, in early life, by the side of the patriotic Tompkins, animating the great State of N. York to the support of the Government, in its fearful struggle with Great Britain.—Throughout that perilous contest, he was the ardent and unflinching defender of his country's rights; and it was then and for such a devotion, he first incurred the bitter and yet lasting hostility of those who gave heart to the enemy, by their criminal opposition and intrigues. He was the leader of that party, which sought, and with success, to reform and liberalize the Constitution of his native State. He was the first to risk his popularity in N. York, by lifting up his voice against that oppressive Tariff which was a blight to the prosperity of the South. When called to the National Councils, we find him still the conspicuous advocate of Republican principles. He did not hesitate, when Vice President, to give his casting vote in favor of a bill to prohibit the circulation by the mail of incendiary publications throughout the Southern States—an abuse, which converted into an instrument of their destruction an institution which was created and sustained by the Federal Government. He thus early made himself an object of peculiar hostility to the fanatics of Abolition, who have never ceased to pursue him for his fidelity to the compromises of the Constitution. When a candidate for the Presidency, he did not disguise his opinions, but proclaimed his opposition to a Bank of the U. S., his unqualified belief that Congress could not touch the subject of slavery in the States, and his determination, should he be elected, to put his veto upon any bill for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. These noble declarations were repeated in the most solemn manner in his Inaugural Address. For his devotion to the rights of the South, he has been denounced as the "Northern man with Southern principles," and even stigmatized on the floor of Congress as a "traitor to the North," although his principles, which are just to us, are consistent with the most comprehensive patriotism. We have already spoken of the financial policy of his administration. His management of our foreign relations has been prudent, yet energetic, and has probably saved us from a desolating war with the greatest power upon earth or sea, while not a title of our rights as a nation has been relinquished. His enemies even are obliged to concede to him this merit, and they proved their confidence by voting to him the discretionary command of ten millions of dollars and fifty thousand men, because they knew that these were safe in such prudent and patriotic hands.

The objections which have been so pertinaciously urged against this honest and able Republican Chief Magistrate, are unfounded, or factious or frivolous.—The defalcations which have been made the subject of so much declamation, are either much exaggerated or were chiefly committed before his administration, and under a system which he, of all others, was most anxious to reform. The expenditures which have been the pretext of so much clamor were for extraordinary and unavoidable purposes, or were voted for by a majority of the Opposition, and often against the wishes and remonstrances of the Administration and of its more confidential friends in Congress. Even at the last session, amidst all this outcry, the appropriations were made to exceed the estimates by millions. The

ordinary expenses of the Government have in fact not been greater, but rather less than those of previous administrations. He has been accused of recommending a standing army, when he had not seen the details of the bill which is made the pretext of this absurd charge, although by the omission of important words from his message, the contrary is sought to be proved. The measure, too, which is so calumniated, although like all similar projects it is liable to some objections, contains no provisions, which in the slightest degree furnish a foundation for so preposterous a misrepresentation; and it was applauded, at first, by the Opposition press which afterwards discovered that by gross perversion, it might be turned to political account. The objections too which have been most insisted upon, are directed against those clauses which are copied from the existing law, that was passed in the administration of Washington, and re-enacted in that of Jefferson. And this hypocritical clamor is raised by men supporting a candidate, who has repeatedly proposed measures much more extravagant than the one they now condemn—measures, which provided for the military education of all the youth of the country at the expense of the Federal Government, and the training of an immense militia corps, six weeks in the year, paying the officers and not the privates. The funds required for these purposes to be raised, if necessary, by additional taxes!

The President has been assailed for declining to set aside the sentence of a court martial, composed chiefly of distinguished Southern officers, when it is not pretended that any injustice was done, and when it is admitted, that the evidence objected to was altogether immaterial to the decision. He was condemned in this case for permitting law and justice to have their course, by those who were unwilling or against an appeal to Congress, the only legitimate tribunal for the remedy of the grievance; thus proving that prejudice, and not justice, was the object of his accusers. He has, moreover, been charged with taking preparatory steps for a system of direct taxation, because he has executed the law for taking the census, as passed, we believe, unanimously by Congress; the portion which is made the pretext for this silly calumny having been introduced by a conspicuous member of the Opposition, and adopted without a word of disapprobation. And what proves the utter folly of the accusation is the fact, that the marshals and their assistants do not take down a single name, which must be conclusive to the dullest comprehension, that no assessment with a view to taxation could have been contemplated. But we have not time to notice the whole series of frivolous, fallacious or factious objections, which are brought against the principles and measures of one who has proved himself altogether worthy of your approbation and support. Suffice it to say, that our opponents are too intelligent to resort to such cavils, had they any thing more serious or solid to allege.

Let us now, in turn, examine rapidly the principles of the Opposition, and contemplate its Candidate! But we are stopped at the threshold by the fact, that no declaration of principles or policy has been made. The Convention, which nominated Gen. Harrison, deemed it impolitic to issue an Address to the People—a fair inference from which is, that it contained materials too heterogeneous to reconcile, and opinions too obnoxious to proclaim. Following this example, the candidate himself has refused to make any declarations for the public eye, although his private communications have been numerous, and have been appealed to for very opposite purposes, in different regions of the country.—We ask you, fellow-citizens, if this is a fair and honorable course towards the people? If the communications of a candidate can be used privately for electioneering purposes, why should he hesitate to publish his sentiments to the world in an authentic and unquestionable shape? This would put an end to all doubt and cavil. We should be spared the degrading spectacle which we behold, when gentlemen at the South read letters from Gen. Harrison, to prove that he has nothing in common with the Abolitionists; and members of Congress and others at the North write letters to be shown to the Abolitionists, declaring that they have seen, from his own hand, sentiments not unfavorable to these dangerous fanatics.

Since, then, neither General Harrison, nor the Committee which answers for him, will make a public authentic declaration of his present principles, we are compelled to resort to other means to obtain a knowledge of them. It has been proved from the record, that he spoke in favor of the Standing Army of the elder Adams, which was an object of peculiar dread and aversion with the early Republicans. He received his first appointment from that high-toned Federal ruler, as his last was bestowed by the son, kindred in principle as well as in blood. When charged with Federalism, on the floor of the Senate, by John Randolph, who asserted it boldly, on his own authority, he admitted the allegation in part, and but faintly denied the rest; although a garbled account of this debate, which gives him a decided triumph over the Orator of Roanoke, has been published among the political documents put forth by his friends, which he has, we would fain hope, inadvertently

sanctioned. He is certainly pledged to the most obnoxious doctrines of that Federal school. His devotion to Internal Improvements, in every variety of form, and a Protective Tariff, was so ardent as to induce him to recommend a suspension of the payment of the public debt, for the purpose of accumulating a surplus, to be applied to their encouragement. So ardent was his support of the latter, as to make him declare, that he would witness the extremest evils predicted from it, before he would consent to its abandonment. He proposed, moreover, that, with the consent of the Southern States, the national revenue should be appropriated to the unconstitutional object of emancipating their slaves, and thus proving his loose and erroneous views of the compact which binds these sovereignties together.

We all know how obnoxious was the famous Proclamation of Gen. Jackson to the Republicans of the South, and many of them were driven by it from the ranks of the Administration, in spite of the explanations of the President, which in a great degree qualified and mitigated its obnoxious sentiments. General Harrison, on the contrary, lauded this act of General Jackson, as doing him more honor than the victory of New Orleans, and adopted its principles, as expounded and exposed by Daniel Webster, as the most "eloquent and satisfactory expositions" of the principles of the Government. He voted, indeed, against the prohibition of slavery in Missouri, yet in the same session of Congress proposed a measure of restriction, and afterwards in the Legislature of Ohio voted for a resolution to instruct its Senators and Representatives to oppose the admission of Territories into the Union without this prohibition. He was a decided opponent of the election of Gen. Jackson, and an equally decided supporter of that of John Q. Adams, from whom he received the mission to Columbia, as he had received his first honor from the Federal father.

But supposing his own opinions to be orthodox, which they are not, let us enquire into the sentiments of those who support him. The leader of Massachusetts Federalism is his right arm, and the father of the miscalled American System, is his left. The advocates of a Bank of the U. S., are, without an exception, his partisans, and look to his election as involving the certainty of the re-establishment of their "great Regulator."—All those, who are devoted to every principle and measure which Virginia has ever abhorred, are strenuous in advocating the election of the nominee of the Harrison Convention. And who are those, who in that Convention coerced the reluctant delegates from the South into the adoption of General Harrison? Abolitionists, or those who were under the influence of that traitorous faction, which has proclaimed the defeat of the rejected candidate as a signal proof that no slaveholder should ever again occupy the Presidential chair! Do we not know, is it not undisputed history, that the choice was acquiesced in with the greatest reluctance by those who have since affected an enthusiasm, which is as insincere as it is sudden? If, then, General Harrison owes his selection to opinions and to men adverse to the South and to Southern interests, will he not, if elected, be under the control of those who prevailed against the reluctantly yielded wishes of the Southern delegation?

We have already touched upon the fearful subject of Abolition. Wherever there is an Abolitionist who is at the same time a politician, he is a decided supporter of the Whig candidate. The greatest pains have been taken to persuade the Abolitionists, that Gen. Harrison is not unfavorable to their views; at least, not as much so as his distinguished opponent. For this purpose we have had open declarations; and worse still, secret communications from politicians of influence, even in the National Legislature. Wherever the Whig party prevails, there Abolition flourishes; wherever the Republicans have the sway, it is discouraged and depressed. Need we point, as proof of the former assertion, to Vermont, Connecticut, New York, &c.? In the last mentioned State, an avowed Abolitionist is Lieutenant Governor, and laws have been lately passed there, by a compact Whig majority, which render it impossible for a Southern man to recover his fugitive slaves; nay, expose him to the penitentiary, should he venture to appeal to the laws of the U. S. for the protection of his property. On the contrary, in New Hampshire, Maine, Pennsylvania, Ohio, &c., the Democracy have proved true to the South, even at the hazard of much of their popularity. In the Keystone State, particularly, not a Democrat can be found who is in the slightest degree tainted with Abolition, or who does not regard it with the same detestation that is felt in the South.

If we look within the walls of Congress, the same state of things will be found to exist. Every conspicuous Abolitionist, there, is an equally conspicuous supporter of General Harrison, including Messrs. Adams, Slade, Giddings, Gates, Clarke, Smith, Saltonstall, Ogle, &c., &c. Several of these, most distinguished for their devotion alike to Harrison and Abolition, are members of the Central Whig Committee, whose duty it is to enlighten the Union, including the Southern States, with political information! Think you, fellow-

citizens, that the election of a candidate, who receives such zealous support, from men so notorious for their devotion to Abolition, will not encourage and strengthen that pestilential heresy, which already boasts its power of coercing the Opposition into the adoption of its candidate? This is too serious a matter to be made the sport of faction. It involves all that is dear to us in life, peace, prosperity, happiness, nay, existence itself, and will give these for the sake of a mere party triumph, and that, too, at the sacrifice of all your cherished principles, expose your highest and lasting interests to the most imminent peril.

It was the declaration of Mr. Jefferson, that the "Northern Democracy is the natural ally of the South," and the present aspect of parties is a striking confirmation of that prophetic sentiment. Yet there are many among us, who are so intent upon the transitory objects of party or faction, that they spurn from us this natural ally, at a most critical juncture of affairs, nay, treat it as an enemy, and strengthen the hands of its, and, consequently, their deadly enemy. They would strike down the man who has solemnly pledged himself to veto any bill which may be passed, and they would substitute an aspirant, who not only refuses to give any pledge, but who indicates a purpose to sign any bill which Congress may pass. They would strike down the man, who, from his local position, at the point of danger, is able and willing to bring us friends; and they prefer the Candidate, whose most decided friends are the least willing to serve us. If we repudiate Martin Van Buren, we paralyze his and our friends, and we commit our dearest interests to the hands of William Henry Harrison's friends, who have hitherto betrayed us. If we elect Mr. Van Buren, the door is still closed to their claim of petition and debate.—The country is saved from agitation, and the Union from the danger of dissolution. But the election of his competitor throws open the door to petitions and debates upon the District of Columbia, and it is to this point of the fortress that the artillery of the Abolitionists has been hitherto directed, and will continue to be pointed. Break that rampart down, and the Union is gone. The very agitation of such a question, if continued from session to session, weakens the bonds which unite us. Yet it is this very question, which Gen. Harrison has in his last Carthage address evaded. We cannot admire the firmness or the candor of that man, who pretends to go before the public, to meet every question, and yet disingenuously slurs over the only one, which has been, and will continue to be, the source of difficulty and of danger. Touch the slaves in the District of Columbia, without the consent of their masters, without the consent of all the slaveholding States, without engrafting the power on the Constitution—may, open the door to petition, to debate and to agitation, and this Union may be shaken to the centre. But Gen. Harrison seems willing to encounter these consequences.

In his Carthage speech he expatiates upon the right of petition, but subsequently seems willing to modify it so far as relates to slavery in the States; but he says not one syllable about the District of Columbia. His silence is most expressive. His omission to modify the right of petition in this respect, either shows him willing to open the door to such petitions, which the South has hitherto succeeded in putting to sleep, or it shows his fear of offending the Abolitionists by speaking the truth.—And in this case "cowardice betrays like treason"—and in either alternative, Gen. Harrison shows himself unworthy of the confidence of the South.—But we have not time to dwell upon this painful topic. In the space to which we are obliged to confine ourselves, it is impossible even to notice all the topics of discussion.

There is one feature, however, in the present contest, to which we think it our imperative duty to direct your serious attention. It is the attempt, on the part of the Opposition, to degrade the people, for the purpose of effecting its party ends. The appeals which are addressed to the enlightened freemen of America, would be insulting to the most ignorant and depraved portion of the human race. Instead of reason, facts, principles, our adversaries show their inveterate contempt for the popular intelligence, by the lowest appeals, to the lowest passions and prejudices. Should such a course prove successful, how ominous for these institutions, whose success depends upon the general diffusion of intelligence, and an elevated popular spirit! In all ages, the degradation of the people, has been the certain forerunner of the destruction of their liberties. When men cease to respect themselves, they will have but little regard for the dignified privileges and duties of self-government. Do you not, fellow-citizens, feel a blush kindling your cheeks, when you witness these revolting practices, which disgrace our country and insult our people? Would you be willing to exhibit such a spectacle to the enemies of popular institutions, who, already exult that under the freest government upon earth, the favor of the people is sought by means which would humiliate the most ignorant and depraved populace of Europe? Have we gone back, instead of advancing in civilization? Are you indeed willing to be-

come the instruments of your own degradation? And what renders these practices still more criminal and revolting, is the fact, that those who resort to them, privately admit that they are engaged in an unworthy occupation, yet justify themselves by the pretence that the people, to be pleased and persuaded, must be cajoled like children or besotted like savages. And who, let us ask, are they, who suddenly affect such an attachment to popular feelings and habits? Are they not they, whose hearts have never beat with a "pulse of popular sympathy," who regard the laboring poor as no better than the slaves of the plantations, who declare that the "huge paws" of the farmer were never made to grasp the statute book? We see men, who have never darkened the doors of the real cottage, exhibiting themselves at political meetings gathered in caricature imitations of the poor man's dwelling, and pretending to taste his homely beverage out of cups formed by the hand of Nature, with lips yet moist with the costly wines of France and Spain, sparkling in the crystal goblet. But no, fellow-citizens, you are not the dupes implied by such miserable arts and contemptible expedients; and we trust, that your verdict upon these disgraceful and degrading practices will be so signal as to prevent their repetition hereafter. Let those who degrade themselves and insult you by such exhibitions, by their log cabins, by their affected potations of hard cider, by gourds and by coon skins, by shouting processions of huzza boys; let those who first stultify the People in order to seduce them; let those who propagate every variety of humbugs, and refuse to appeal to their understandings by manly argument and enlightened principles, reap their appropriate reward in the just indignation of their country. Let those who thus insult you, "stoop" if they will, but not "to conquer."

Finally, let us appeal once more to you, as Republicans, conscious of your high calling and exalted privileges, to weigh well the consequences involved in the present contest. We entreat you for your own sakes, and that of your children, to prove faithful to your ancient principles, and to those who have been faithful to you, and to them. Heed not the calumnies which assail your ears. They are the same which were employed in the time of Jefferson and Madison, whose doctrines and policy, it was asserted, with like pertinacity and perverseness, were hostile to order, property, morals and religion. This is the common cry of those who are averse to free principles, and resembles that of the "throne and altar," which, beyond the ocean, serves as a rallying point against the friends of liberty. The Republican party has ever been composed chiefly of the plain farmers, and honest yeomanry of the country.—Are they less attached to order, property, religion and morals, than the classes which are habitually arrayed against them?—What party, too, let us ask, has stigmatized itself, by the gross frauds upon popular rights, which sought to vitiate the elections in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and other places—frauds, which poison the very fountain of liberty itself? It ill becomes such adversaries to read to the honest Democracy, lessons of integrity and piety, much less to blacken it with such offensive aspersions. On this subject, we express ourselves with warmth, because we feel the just indignation, which such practices are calculated to inspire.

You are told also, that our principles are hostile to credit, which is the life-blood of enterprise. This accusation is equally unfounded. The credit which is supported by a judicious confidence, and is based upon intelligence and industry, will always exist, especially in a free country of unshackled resources. It is of spontaneous and irrepressible growth. With a fertile soil, vast and navigable rivers, an almost boundless coast, various productions, inexhaustible resources, and above all, industry, energy and liberty, our career to opulence and greatness can never be long obstructed. How absurd, how irrational, how blind to the real causes of national prosperity, to ascribe our unparalleled progress to a spurious system of monopoly, and flimsy, factitious credit, which crumbles under us, when we most need its support; which first stimulates and then exhausts; which cheats us with a false show of wealth, and then beggars us in character as well as fortune; which, as has been aptly remarked, is like intoxication; strength to-day and weakness to-morrow. No—we are not opposed to the principles of true credit, which has a substantial and enduring basis, because it is sustained by integrity, prudence, foresight and enterprise. But that to which we are opposed, is as fatal to legitimate credit, as it is to solid prosperity, private and public integrity. We are indeed hostile to that delusive system of credit, or rather discredit, which decoys but to betray; which exalts but to prostrate; which cruelly sports with character, fortune, and the rewards of labor; which places in a few selfish hands the power of raising and depressing the prices of all things at pleasure; which exposes us to a ruinous alternation of contractions and expansions of the currency; which seduces our people from the manly and honorable pursuits of industry, into the doubtful and dangerous paths of speculation; which makes our Treasury overflow to-day

to-morrow leaves it exhausted and dry; which makes our corporations, and worse yet, sovereign States, humble supplicants for loans at all the counters of all the Kingdoms of Europe; which seeks by a general assumption to visit the consequences of its exploded follies and abortive projects upon every laborer and cottage of the country, taxing the wants and comforts of the industrious poor throughout our land, that the brokers of London and Amsterdam may pocket a premium of millions upon loans purchased at a usurious discount, thus creating a dire necessity for that very direct tax which it pretends to abhor. We are, we repeat it, hostile to that spurious system of false credit which would mortgage the whole property and resources of a great nation; which will prove the inevitable parent, as it is the creature of a vicious, oppressive funding system, and which, if persisted in, must end in a public debt, the rival of that of England; a debt which has bound the freest and most powerful Monarchy upon earth with golden or rather paper chains; which has filled her borders with pauperism and crime; which has burdened her people with charges to the annual amount of hundreds of millions; which has made it necessary to tax every object of life and death, from the cradle to the coffin; which has armed three millions of her subjects with the weapons of rebellion, while her fairest domain is perpetually on the brink of insurrection; from which there can be no redemption, until it shall be swept away by the besom of revolution!

Fellow-citizens: We have thus endeavored, calmly and fairly, to portray to you the character of the contest which at present is agitating, we might say, almost convulsing, our country to its remotest limit—and to hold up to your view the mighty issues that contest involves. Your just appreciation of these issues we cannot for a moment question; for they are obviously the preservation of our beautiful system of confederated Republics, the pride of every philanthropist and the hope of the oppressed of every region;—the renown, the prosperity of our beloved Commonwealth, the happiness, the quiet, the very existence of those scenes in which all the highest virtues have their source, and where all our fondest feelings cluster.—But, with every proper confidence in your sagacity to estimate, and your firmness to maintain the blessings of which our free institutions have been hitherto fruitful, we cannot too anxiously warn you of the dangers that must ensue from a long enjoyment of those blessings, and from confidence, the offspring of your own unsuspecting rectitude of purpose. 'Tis true, there is a principle in man, which inclines him to sympathize with his fellow-man; yet, it is equally true, that avarice, ambition or fanaticism, can stifle the strongest instincts and yearnings of nature within him, and impel him to riot and to triumph in the mischiefs and misery he has accomplished. The history of the world is rife with examples of this melancholy truth, and the events of our own short existence as a nation, furnish illustrations which cannot be too strongly pressed on your attention. The Federal Government had scarcely been brought into operation, before the spirit of encroachment commenced its machinations against the rights of the States, and against that freedom and perfect equality of right amongst the people, which ensure their intellectual and moral elevation, as well as their political and social happiness. Under the auspices of the elder Adams, these usurpations advanced with an audacity which drove our people to the very verge of revolution. At this point of endurance, the insulted Democracy of the country, marshalled by Jefferson, Madison, and other worthies, aroused themselves to the vindication of their rights, and prostrated Federalism in the dust. The trophies of its defeat were the integrity of the Constitution, the restoration of the rights of the States and of the people, so far as the injuries inflicted upon these, by the assaults of Federalism, could be repaired.

But Federalism, although thus signally overthrown and driven from the field, has failed not, upon any hope of advantage however delusive, to renew its attacks, and its burning desire for power, rendered more intense by delay and disaster, now impels it to the conflict with a ferocity of feeling and manner, heretofore unexampled. To the same conflict in interest and object, fellow-citizens, which was waged against the Democracy during the Administrations of Jefferson, Madison and Jackson; but to one far more formidable in its array, because of the unholy alliances contracted by the enemy, and of the foul defections which have occurred in the Southern camp. The enemies of Democracy have not scrupled to call to their aid the fanaticism of Abolition; and what would seem to startle the belief, and should arouse the indignation of every man who loves his country or his home, have associated with those who preach a crusade against the rights and the safety of the Southern people, citizens of Southern, slaveholding States. Against a combination, then, thus hostile to every principle consecrated in our affections—hostile to our very existence as a people, we now present to you our earnest and solemn appeal. With such a combination, we believe there can be no truce—no compromise:—That its predominance, or any connection with it, must be fatal to the Union; fatal to liberty, fatal to peace. We

conjure you, then, that with an unanimity which no wile or stratagem shall divide, with an energy which neither threats nor violence shall paralyze, you will come forward to the rescue of the Constitution, to the preservation of the Union, with all the blessings it has wrought and is calculated to ensure—to the protection of our families and our homes. We would encourage you in this noble work by the assurance, that the tidings we receive from our democratic brethren in other States is of the most cheering nature; they call upon us to be onward in our march, and say to us as brethren that they will advance with an equal pace—and to these our brethren we would echo back our resolution and our well-grounded belief of success in the Democratic watch-words, **UNION, LIBERTY AND THE CONSTITUTION!** In fine, fellow-citizens, from this spot, almost at the very grave of the illustrious Jefferson, the author of the immortal Declaration of his country's Independence, and the father of the Democracy, we would solemnly pledge ourselves (and entreat you to unite in the sacred obligation) to every effort which patriotism and duty can inspire, to shield our beloved Virginia from the opprobrium of surrendering those principles which have given lustre to her name, and enshrined her in the love and veneration of every friend of free Government.

Fellow-citizens! we have spoken—it is for you to decide!

RICHMOND, Va., WEDNESDAY, SEPT. 23.

"A wise and frugal Government which shall restrain men from injuring one another; shall leave them otherwise free to regulate their own pursuits of industry and improvement; and shall not take from the mouth of labor the bread it has earned. This is the sum of good government."—MR. JEFFERSON'S INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

To the Democratic Corresponding Committee in every county, and to the Republicans generally throughout the Commonwealth:

The Charlottesville Convention, among other measures which they have adopted for the service of their country, have proposed a *regular County Organization*, which is published in this day's Enquirer. We cannot too earnestly recommend it to your serious attention and immediate action. We pray you to lose no time in carrying out this Organization in all your counties. The great object is, to rouse the Democracy, to bring out all good votes, to exclude all bad ones, and to leave the Election of the Chief Magistrate of the Union to the majority of voters, freely and fairly expressed.

In the name of the Convention, therefore, the several Committees of the Republican Party are requested to read this Report carefully, to study all its propositions, and to act upon them without delay.—You are specially requested to appoint Sub-Committees, whose duty it shall be to wait upon our friends at their houses, and to warn them in to the Election—to appoint also the Sub-committees of challenging all spurious and suspicious Votes—and Committees, who shall repair to the polls, for the purpose we invite you immediately to establish Democratic Associations in your respective counties.

The Election is advancing with a rapid stride. The Opposition is on the alert.—Now, then, let us show by the energy of our movements throughout the whole Commonwealth, that whilst our cause is better, our enthusiasm is at least equal to theirs.

THOMAS RITCHIE,
Secretary to the Central Committee.

☞ The Address of the Charlottesville Convention will appear on Tuesday.—But as the County Organization is of more pressing importance, we have determined to give the Report of that Committee the priority of publication.—*Editor.*

We join the *Wheeling Times* in the following piece of advice:—"We would respectfully caution the people against believing any report whatever, that may be started less than a month before the election." We have had this advice in contemplation some weeks, and would perhaps have neglected giving it so early, but for the *Times*. Judging the Whigs by their conduct elsewhere, we had frequently expressed the opinion, that they were nursing some horrible humbug, to come out just on the eve of our election, and wondered what it could be.—We have not been able to form or gather any idea of it; but that a sleeping monster is to be started loose upon us, none need doubt, and all may expect. We therefore, Democrats, put you on your guard—Believe every thing a LIE they tell you, unless "a month before the election." We have nothing to lose by this course—they every thing; yea, their "meat and drink."

The Whigs cannot atone for their former contempt of the mechanic classes. They are now trying to humbug the Shoemakers. They have constructed a shoe to run on wheels, of such dimensions as to hold 25 men, in which they attended the Bunker Hill meeting in Massachusetts. This is militating against the interests of the Shoemakers; for, formerly, it would at least require 3 or 4 pair of shoes a-piece for 25 men, but now 25 men are crammed into a single shoe, not made of leather, but of wood. The Shoemakers of course will see into the humbug.

THE HUMBURG GENERAL.

The efforts made by the Whigs to impress the public mind with the belief, that Gen. Harrison has rendered great and distinguishing services to his country, in a military capacity, is of a piece with those they make to induce them to believe, that he is the "Log Cabin" and "Hard Cider" candidate; or, in other words, the poor man's friend. In this, as in the other case, they substitute falsehood for fact; mummery and parades, for intelligence and reason. It may safely be asserted, that Gen. Harrison never has, in a single instance, in all the campaigns through which he may have passed, given evidence of the military tact, promptness of decision and quickness of judgment which all men concur in regarding as indispensable to form the character of a "hero." A few events, in which others have been more conspicuous than himself, are caught up by his adherents and paraded before the public as evidence of his generalship; but, if Gen. Harrison had been a great General, why has the country never heard of it before? Why has Croghan been the hero of Fort Stephenson, if Harrison had been a General? Why was Johnson a hero, if Harrison had fought the battle of the Thames? Why the massacre at Seneca? The only two battles that Gen. Harrison *never* fought, was the battle of Tippecanoe and Fort Meigs.—At the former, he was caught napping, and when roused from his slumbers, he was so much alarmed, that he could not get his boots on, or perhaps put them on the wrong leg. This deserves not the name of a battle. It was a surprise, in which the Indians were repulsed with superior numbers. Gov. Carroll, the second in command at N. Orleans, says, that not an Indian was found on the ground the next morning at sunrise, leaving the inference, that the General either fell asleep again, and permitted them to come and carry off their dead, or that there were none to carry off. At Fort Meigs, what did he do?—Staid in the Fort, out of harm's way, and sent across the river, when there was no necessity, 800 undisciplined militia men (Clay's detachment,) who were cut off by the Indians and English, and butchered and scalped, almost in his very sight. Gen. Harrison, in his letter to the War Department, called it "another disaster," and ascribed their destruction to that "confidence which always attends militia when successful." The only inference that can be possibly drawn from this admission is, that he was weak or wicked—weak, in sending men to storm a battery when failure was certain destruction, as the Indians flanked them on both sides—and wicked, because he knew, if "successful," the "confidence" arising from it "would prove their ruin." The facts, Gen. H. is no General, and the Whigs know he does not deserve the extravagant praises daily bestowed upon him. They believe, if they can make him appear a hero, that the people are such fools they will surrender their principles in the admiration and sympathy it excites. The Whigs calculate thus; and will not the people disappoint them? Even supposing him a General of the purest water, can they consent, in honoring him, to bring men into power, who will fasten upon them the odious Federal measures of the elder and younger Adams? Can a man be a hero who never fought a battle? Who, by his inefficiency and want of firmness, sacrificed more men in the single battle of Fort Meigs, against a force of 800 British and Indians, than Gen. Jackson lost in either of his battles before New Orleans, against the whole force of British regulars exceeding 10,000? Niles, in the 10th volume of his Register, shows, that Harrison had more men killed and wounded at Tippecanoe, (where, according to his own statement, he had a superior force over the Indians,) than Gen. Jackson lost in killed and wounded in either of his great battles of the 23d of December and 8th of January at New Orleans; that Harrison lost only thirteen less, killed and wounded, at the battle of Tippecanoe, than Gen. Jackson lost in both battles at New Orleans. The loss of the British in the last battle before New Orleans, was about four times as great as in all the battles fought under the orders of Harrison. The Indians lost more men, killed and wounded, in the single battle of the Tallapoosa, fought by Gen. Jackson, than in all the actions in which Harrison commanded. Harrison lost within 65 of as many in the single battle of Tippecanoe, in which he gained nothing for the country, as Gen. Jackson did in all his battles with the Indians, which made the conquest of the South-west. Gen. Harrison lost more men in the single battle of the Rapids of Miami, than Gen. Jackson lost in all his battles with the Indians and British. More men were lost in the massacre of the River Raisin, produced by the failure of Harrison to send up a reinforcement, as Messrs. Madison and Garrard testify, than in all the battles fought by Gen. Jackson against the British and Indians during the last war.

In view of the state of the account, ending with the second battle of French town, on the River Raisin, Niles concludes his tabular statement of the war, with the remark, that "the first campaign, ending with the second battle at French town, was little else than A SERIES OF DEFEATS AND DISGRACE." Of the second campaign, the Register says: "In the second campaign, our arms were, in a considerable degree, suc-

cessful. But [mark the but!] still the 'failure' of the Northern division, was disastrous."

This is history, (partial history to our country and its Generals,) setting down the truth just after the conclusion of the war; and it makes Harrison the hero of defeats and failures. The Register speaks in a more exulting tone, when it brings down the account to the battles fought "under that invincible commander, Gen. Jackson." He speaks of him as "the conqueror of the conquerors of Europe," as presenting "an impenetrable front to the invading army"—and he concludes his remarks with saying: "Thus, the close of the war was more glorious to our arms than its commencement was disastrous." Harrison began it—Jackson ended it. And yet the Whigs will insist, that Gen. Harrison is a great hero. But if so, again we ask, why has he never been considered so? Why has it been necessary to bolster him up with so many certificates? Why did he resign in 1814, in the midst of the war, if he had been a hero anxious to distinguish himself? Why was no objection made to his resignation at that time by the country?—For the simple reason, that the country knew he was no hero, and that he was an inefficient, milk and water General. Why did Congress refuse him a gold medal? Why did the Council of New York refuse him a sword and the freedom of the city? Why have there been so many condemnations of his conduct as a General, by those under his command, and others, who were best capable of judging of his conduct? In truth, Harrison is only a half General, or, as the Whigs sometimes say to those making objections to Military Chieftains, "he is not such a d—d great General after all."

We took occasion to state, in our paper of the 9th inst., that "circumstances denied us the opportunity" of visiting the "Log Cabin," to hear the remarks of Mr. Legare of South Carolina. We ventured, however, on the character we understood he sustained as a gentleman, and scholar, to pay him rather a compliment than otherwise. The Richmond Whig, from its report of a sweeping denunciation as made by him of the whole Administration party, induces us to withdraw whatever of commendation, direct or indirect, we may have bestowed upon him, and to hold him as we do all others capable of such low and coarse vulgarity. The Whig represents him as having said, that the whole "capital" of the Administration party consisted in "lies." That the low, dirty, ignorant and unprincipled hacks of the party to which Mr. Legare is attached, should apply such an epithet to a numerous and highly respectable party, and even the President himself, was not to be wondered at; but that a man of his high standing should have descended to do so, almost surpasses comprehension. What "lie" enters into the "capital" of the Democratic party? Will Mr. L. say? If there ever was a party in the history of the world, that rested on the broad basis of truth and an open, candid avowal of its principles and policy, that party is the party of the present Administration. What opinion does the President conceal? Is he not open, frank and candid on all subjects? He is, beyond all question. If the high and important duty of denying false statements and exposing falsehoods for the good of the community, justly subject the friends of the Administration to such an imputation, then they have more than earned the reputation assigned them. No misrepresentation has been too flagitious, no falsehood too glaring to deter the enemies of the Administration from resorting to it in the hope and belief, that they would derive profit from it, in the gullibility and ignorance of the people. They assert almost anything, provided it will have effect, whether true or false. They assert, that Mr. Van Buren was the leader of the Missouri restrictions, when no proof can be adduced of his having done more than to acquiesce in the passage of the resolutions, in accordance with the will of those he represented. Yet this same party, thus seeking to prejudice the people against the President, voted for John Sergeant in 1832, the most active Restrictionist in the U. States, and are now sustaining a man, who not only voted for similar instructions in 1819, in the Ohio Senate, but has been nominated by Abolition influence, and written Abolition letters.

This, then, may be "lie" the 1st, and "capital" in part of the Democratic party.

Mr. Van Buren is next charged with being friendly to negro suffrage. This is disproved by his course in the N. Y. Convention, where he was the chief opponent of this right, and finally succeeded in requiring of them a qualification which deprived nearly all of the power of voting. This part of the Constitution, the Harrison party is endeavoring to repeal.

This is "lie" the 2d, and "capital" in part of the Democratic party.

Mr. Van Buren is next charged with being friendly to negro testimony. Here a Whig, the Editor of the Lexington Gazette, magnanimously steps forward and vindicates him against the reproach. But Mr. Van Buren himself says that he is opposed to the principle. This is "lie" the 3d.

Mr. Van Buren is next charged with a Standing Army. Such an idea never entered into his conception.

He never saw the plan which has been so much denounced, until it was sent to Congress.

This is "lie" the 4th.

Mr. Van Buren is charged with Bloodhounds in Florida. In this, if it were so, some justification might be found; but he had nothing to do with the bloodhounds imported into that Territory by its own citizens. Of this a Whig has acquitted him, and therefore is "Lie" the 5th.

Mr. Van Buren is charged with extravagance in the public Expenditures, when he has uniformly recommended economy, and has brought down the expenses of the Government from \$38,000,000 to something like \$20,000,000.

This is "lie" the 6th.

Mr. Van Buren is charged with Royalty in the furniture of the white house. This is disproved by Mr. Lincoln, a distinguished Whig.

This is "lie" the 7th.

Mr. Van Buren is charged with being friendly to Defaulters. He recommended a law to punish them as criminals, which was twice passed by his friends, and rejected by his enemies. They are now treated as such in the Independent Treasury bill.

This is "lie" the 8th.

Mr. Van Buren is charged with the Census law, in order to impose a direct tax. This was a Whig measure throughout, and sustained by Whig papers, and among them, the Compiler of this City.

This is "lie" the 9th.

Mr. Van Buren is said to be the poor man's enemy. This is disproved by the daily slang of the Whigs and the adroit use they make of "log cabins and hard cider." They know, that all his measures tend to improve the condition of the poor, by producing equality of rights, and hence the efforts to deceive them by hollow professions.

This then is "lie" the 10th.

We might travel through the whole scheme concocted at Harrisburg, and expose in this manner the gross misrepresentations of the Opposition, as well as the concealment of their opinions; but this must suffice to show in what sense the declaration of Mr. Legare can be admitted to be true, that the "capital" of the Administration party consists in nothing but "lies." Their "capital" is to refute "lies."

A Sage Conclusion.

The Petersburg Intelligencer says, that if the New Jersey Whig members had been admitted, and certain members of the Democratic party voted against the Sub-Treasury bill, it would have been defeated by a majority of FIVE, instead of having been passed by a majority of SEVENTEEN. The Intelligencer must know that the Sub-Treasury bill was passed in accordance with the will of the people expressed at the polls, after the whole subject had been before the nation for three years, and fully and amply discussed. It had intrinsic merit enough of its own, to pass in spite of the misrepresentations and falsehoods continually urged against it. No measure of equal importance ever met with a more signal triumph. It received the unqualified sanction of the American people—"hinc lachrymæ."

A Modest Request.

The Richmond Whig of August 31, addresses to the Administration the following exceedingly modest request. Mr. Van Buren has so much cause of deep and profound obligation to the Whig, that we should not be surprised at an acknowledgment on his part, by a withdrawal of his name:

"The array of opposition to the continuation of his administration is so vast—it embraces so large a proportion of the American People, and their repudiation of him, and desire for a change, is so intense and ardent, that in our opinion, patriotism demands that the Administration should yield its pretensions."

"The array of opposition to the Administration is so vast!"—So many "cabins," so many cider barrels, so much cider, so many gourds, coon skins, chicken coops, pods of pepper, ramshorns and hog pens; so many bald eagles, so much clap trap, so much mummery, so many humbugs, so many flags, brooms, banners and pine poles! Mr. Van Buren can never stand up against such an "array of opposition" as this—it certainly will sweep him away; so he had better decamp in time. Mr. Van Buren ought certainly to entertain so modest a proposition! None would be more obliged to him than the Whig—for then the Whig would be sure of an office.

The South-Western Virginian had better draw another parallel between Mr. Van Buren and Mr. Harrison—and the next time be less shameless in misrepresenting the facts. He says: Mr. Harrison voted for the Compromise Bill with Gen. Jackson, and calls the Sub-Treasury a Bank, to help out his parallel with Mr. Harrison on that question.

The Whigs are attempting to make "capital" out of the act of the Governor of Florida, in calling the militia together at Tallahassee, to repress the lawless violence of certain Bank minions, who had threatened him with violence, and sworn to tear down the office of the Floridian newspaper, for exposing the swindling operations of the Banks in that city.

TO THE YOUNG.

In choosing their party position, it would always be well for young men to reflect seriously on the consequences of the step they are about to take. Straightforward candor and ingenuousness are common attributes of youth, and it is much to be regretted that these honorable and amiable traits are often too soon obliterated by attrition with the world. Young men ought carefully to avoid every social or political connection that tends to emasculate character, by impairing these manly and noble attributes. If they even suspect that one political party in this country is afraid or ashamed to avow its real principles, opinions and objects, however well they may agree with that party in its doctrines, they should studiously avoid connecting themselves with it. For, although they may be at first disposed with the bold confidence of youth to make converts to their creed by an open avowal of their true principles and designs, experience will soon teach them the impolicy of this course, and they will gradually and imperceptibly glide into the practices of the mass of their party. They will have one set of opinions for the public, another for the closet; they will profess one object of pursuit, whilst in truth they are aiming at another and perhaps opposite object. They will be doomed to go through life wearing a mask, sentenced like galley slaves, ever to look one way and row another.

Such is a faint outline of the inevitable consequences attending a union with the Whig party.

The old Federal party distrusted the capacity of the mass of the people for self-government. They openly avowed that distrust, and were defeated. Profiting by experience, they then changed their name, and have ever since studiously concealed in public this abiding distrust, but have never failed to act on it at the polls. Hence we find, that this party, by whatever name it may for the time have been known, has always been opposed to the extension of the right of suffrage. The present Whigs under other names, in every State that has changed or attempted to change its constitution, in order to extend the right of suffrage, and to render more of the officers of Government elective by the people, have been found generally opposed to such changes. In truth, the distinguishing feature in their political creed, is an apprehension, that the tendency of our institutions is to anarchy. Hence they term their opponents Loco Focos, Agrarians and Fanny Wright men. They honestly believe their opponents too Democratic; that they are stripping the Government of implied, yet necessary powers, and will render it too weak and ineffective to hold together. This is what they think, but what they are afraid to say. For, on the contrary, they are continually charging their opponents with being Monarchists—men, who are seeking to place all power in the hands of one man. Yet, let a question of doubtful power arise, and they always vote for the exercise of the power.

That Government which they hypocritically profess to think too strong, they are now struggling to invest with the additional and tremendous powers of chartering a great Bank to control the currency and markets of the country; of laying a Protective Tariff to control or tax the industrial pursuits of every man in the nation; of constructing Internal Improvements, to control the course of trade and the value of real property.

That Executive, whose patronage and power they assert is now too great, they are striving to invest with all the vast additional power and patronage that must arise from an alliance with all the monied corporations of the nation. If the boundless influence and patronage of these corporations were wielded in concert with Executive patronage, they fondly hope we should have an Administration strong enough to perpetuate itself. Yet these fond hopes they dare not breathe, for fear of breaking the spell of log cabins, hard cider and coon skins. They call themselves State Rights men, and abuse Jackson as a usurper and a despot—Yet they sustained the Proclamation and the Force Bill, and opposed all the State Rights and Democratic measures of his administration. They cant about one currency for the people and another and a better currency for the Government, and vote for every sort of exclusive privilege that is proposed. The soldiers and officers in olden times were nearly all Federalists. They are now nearly all Whigs. Yet these Whigs profess the greatest horror of an army. Nearly every Federal county and State is now a Whig county and State. Their doctrines have been transmitted from sire to son. Yet do these degenerate sons affect to apply to their adversaries as a term of reproach and opprobrium the distinctive appellation of their sires. They laud Jefferson in public; yet never mention his name in private without a sneer and a sarcasm. To prove their great love for the people, they make log cabins and hard cider their motto; provide enormous feasts and festivals for all who will attend free of charge, yet will they not confide to these people whom they feast, their principles, their opinions or their designs. A Whig, it is true, is the friend of liberty as he understands it; but, like the officers and soldiers of the army, who are almost all Whigs, he deems order, discipline and strict subordination the essentials of liberty. These opinions he does not breathe,

but the diligent observer readily discovers them in the history of his life, his practices and his associations.

Thus have we drawn to the best of our abilities a faithful picture of the slavish hypocrisy which characterizes the life of a Whig leader in politics.

A Democrat, on the other hand, is a politician who believes that mankind at large may be safely trusted with self-government. He confides in the virtue and intelligence of his fellow men. He thinks, that, taking mankind in the mass, rich and poor, learned and unlearned, there is more of virtue than of vice, more of good sense than of folly among them. He is not afraid that the poor will rob the rich; because he knows the large majority of them have too much honesty to do so, and too much good sense not to know, that those who ask for a division of property to-day, would be clamorous for a re-division to-morrow. "Sum cuique tribuit," is at once his motto, and the best definition of his principles. Hence he opposes all exclusive privileges, and all measures of Government that tend to tax one set of men or one section of the country for the benefit of another. He never disguises or conceals his opinions or his objects; for, he knows that they are popular, and that the best way to make converts to his party is openly to profess them. With nothing to conceal, he walks forth among his fellow men erect, in the image of his Maker, feeling proudly conscious that he is "an honest man, the noblest work of God." He is a philanthropist, in the broadest sense of the word; for he respects, he trusts, he confides in his fellow man. A Whig, too, may be a philanthropist; but this is a narrow philanthropy. He would "save the people from themselves;" for he thinks "they know not what they do."

Young men! a very little reading, observation and experience will convince you, that the distinctions we have drawn are just. Which life will you prefer to lead, that of the Whig or that of the Democrat?

Republicans! Organize! ORGANIZE!

The Democrats of this City are organizing themselves with great activity under the recommendations of the Charlottesville Convention. They are appointing Committees to bring in all our good votes and excluding all the bad or doubtful votes of the Whigs! Give us fair play, and we shall carry Virginia by from 6 to 8,000 votes. We earnestly recommend it to every County Corresponding Committee to read the Report on County organization, contained in this day's Crisis, and carry out all its requisitions. Organize Democratic Associations, throughout your counties, without delay.—Organize active Committees to warn the voters to the Polls—and to challenge every suspicious vote, at every Precinct. Do this, and Virginia is perfectly safe.

Read also the powerful and eloquent ADDRESS of the Charlottesville Convention, which appears in this day's Crisis.

The news from Pennsylvania, N. York, Tennessee, indeed the South-west and Ohio, is cheering.—A letter from one of the most distinguished men in N. York, received by this morning's Mail, says, we are doing well here; and that we shall redeem the State.—Brag on, Whigs! The polls will dissipate all your humbugs.

The gubernatorial Election in Maine is not yet settled. The contest is so close a one, that it will probably not be decided, until the returns from the Aristook, &c., with which there is no very regular communication, come in. Some guess, the vote is so close between Fairfield and Kent, that the scattering vote may prevent either of them from being elected Governor.

TABLE OF ELECTIONS.

The following table will be found handy and useful as a matter of reference. It has been compiled with great care, and is believed to be accurate:

States.	State Elections.	Presidential Election.	No. of Electors.
New Hampshire	March	10 November	2
Connecticut	April	"	9
Rhode Island	"	15 "	18
Virginia	"	23 "	23
*Louisiana	July	6 "	3
Alabama	August	3 "	9
Kentucky	"	3, 4, 5 "	15
Indiana	"	3 "	2
*Illinois	"	3 "	5
Missouri	"	3 "	4
Tennessee	"	6 "	19
*North Carolina	August	"	19
Vermont	September	7 "	10
Maine	"	14 "	10
*Georgia	October	12 "	11
Maryland	"	7 "	10
South Carolina	"	13 Legislature	11
*Pennsylvania	"	13 October	30
*New Jersey	"	13 November	6
*Ohio	"	13 "	21
New York	November	2 "	42
Mississippi	"	2 "	4
Michigan	"	2 "	3
Arkansas	"	2 "	3
*Massachusetts	"	9 "	14
*Delaware	"	10 "	10

Those States marked with a star (*) choose members of Congress on the same day that State officers are chosen.

The Electors meet at the capitals of the respective States in which they are chosen, on the 2d day of De-

cember, and give in their ballots for President and Vice President.

Last Friday's Whig contains an account of the Whig gathering at Nashville on the 17th August. The number in attendance is not stated; but Mr. Clay says it surpassed the Baltimore Pageant in "numbers and magnificence." There is nothing, we should judge, in the Baltimore affair of a very consoling nature to Mr. Clay, but every motive why he should underrate that and over estimate this. Mr. Webster, on that occasion, was honored with the "highest consideration," whilst Mr. Clay had to stand aside for the "baronets and four white horses" to pass. No wonder, then, he should think the Nashville gathering something superior. A brighter luminary eclipsed his vision at Baltimore—at Nashville he was the chief luminary and magnifier. But we'll grant it.—Yes; the Nashville meeting was one of the greatest ever convened in the U. S. It even surpassed Baltimore on the 4th May in "numbers and magnificence." Did it surpass it in anything else? That's the question. As many banners, flags, gauds, coon skins, cider barrels, and nonsense, as at Baltimore—As much mummery and a greater multitude; but, did they manifest any more respect for the people? Did they issue any Address? Did they send forth any principles, as the cement of their party, by which to adhere? No; not a principle did they discuss—not an appeal did they make to the reason or judgment of the people. All was parade, pomp and show—an exhibition, merely to stifle reason and minister to the passions. They had on the occasion an immense "ball," in the shape of a "hemisphere," as prophetic of the tide of victory which is in wait for them. This hemisphere ball reminds us of the Irishman's triangle with two round sides and a straight one. November will teach them how difficult it is to roll a "hemisphere" ball. The Democratic ball is round—a bona fide ball, and when once under way—

"On, bounding will it go, and to nothing will yield;
It'll roll and roll on till it finds a fair field,
Over 'log cabins,' 'cider gauds,' 'coon skins' and all;
The Whigs will stand aghast at the speed of the ball."

Extract from a Letter of a gentleman, who lives in one of the closely contested Counties of Virginia.

"I hope you don't despair in politics. With so good a cause, we cannot fail before an intelligent people. — says he is nearly with us. I think we may safely count on him. — and — are almost changed, and — has quite changed. One thing is obvious—a large portion of the Whigs everywhere seem doubtful and hesitating. Our party are all zeal and unanimity. A thorough conviction of right inspires us all."

Despair! Why we never were in higher spirits in our life. We confidently believe, that we shall beat the Whigs beyond all calculation. Our cause is just—theirs, is sustained by nothing but misrepresentation and humbuggery. If such a party should triumph by such means, they will not hesitate to taunt us with what they have said and always thought, that the people were too ignorant and corrupt for self-government. Freeman of Virginia! vindicate yourselves from such a reproach!

Mr. Van Buren, in his letter to Messrs. Mebane, Moore and Rodgers of N. C., says:

"A bill passed by Congress, for the abolition of slavery in the Territories where it exists, without the assent of the slaveholding States, would, in my opinion, be equally objectionable with one for the like purpose in the District of Columbia, and would not consequently receive my constitutional sanction."

This reply is in direct reference to an enquiry as to what he would do with a bill to abolish slavery in Florida, and meets fully the doubts and difficulties of the Lynchburg Virginian, in its comments on a letter from North Carolina, bearing on its face the impress of malice, and the spice of malignity. But what did Mr. Van Buren's friends do when Arkansas made application for admission? They promptly let her in, and rebuked the efforts then made by the Whigs, to raise the Missouri question. Come, friend Toler, "do justice though the Heavens fall."

The opinion of the Whig will pass for nothing with intelligent men. It has boxed completely the political compass. At one time its needle is pointing North; then South—At another, it is directed to the West, and then again to the East; first Clay, then Calhoun; now Harrison or Webster. What is the opinion of such a shifting thing worth? Not a two-penny. At one time, we find it holding an office under Mr. Adams—now abusing officeholders. At one time, supporting the corrupt Coalition, with all its latitudinous doctrines, and then *ram mad* with Nullification. Then again supporting Mr. Clay, with all his odious aristocratic principles, now plunging into political log cabins, and cutting all manner of mountebank tricks. Against the Bank and for it. Against the Tariff and for it. Against Internal Improvements and for it; but always Abolition, except when it wanted to alarm the South with Mr. Van Buren, because he was born North of Mason & Dixon's line. Now, a zealous and active co-operator with all the full-blooded fanatics beyond that line. He to abuse such men as Calhoun, Taggwell and McDuffie! The abuse of the Whig is always evidence of merit in the object it assails. What greater proof is wanting of this fact, than its fulsome flattery of Wm. C. Rives, the Renegade, against whom it but so lately invoked "a whip of scorpions to lash the rascal naked through the world"? The opinion of the Whig is not worth a pinch of snuff.

The Petersburg Intelligencer talks about "the difference in the spirit of the two parties," and represents the Whigs as elated with their prospects, and the Democrats depressed by despair. Has the Intelligencer forgotten what was said by its party in 1836? They then said, that Mr. Van Buren would not get half a dozen States in the Union. They spoke of him as "a smashed oyster." He stood no chance. Then it was, that the Democrats were all down the throat and overborne with despair. Then the Whigs were loud, buoyant and noisy as they are now. They even went so far then as to hitch themselves like cattle to a "triumphal" car, and drew their Chief through the streets of Philadelphia; but it all would not do. Mr. Van Buren, though "a smashed oyster," and his friends, though depressed at such disgusting exhibitions, came out with flying colors at the election in November then, and they will do so next November. If the Whigs manifest any additional confidence now in their cause, or the Democrats seem less active than before, it is because they are intoxicated with "hard cider," and see more strongly fortified with "hard" reason. The Intelligencer, in his calculations hereafter, had better make allowances for trifles of this kind.

RICHMOND MARKETS—SEPT. 13.

COUNTRY FLOUR—\$3½—in good demand; receipts very light, and stock small.
WHEAT—110c. red; 115c. white, for good.
CITY MILLS FLOUR—5c.
CORN—45c.

WILLIAMS & MAXALL.